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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DEAN RUSK,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF STATE
COLLEGES AND NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES
AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES,
SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1966.

The Future of the Pacific Community

Tonight I should like to share with you some observations about the Pacific community of nations. The trip with the President from which I recently returned was my ninth to the Western Pacific as Secretary of State.

I have always found in that area great reservoirs of friendliness and goodwill toward the United States. This was of course vividly evident during President Johnson's recent tour. Every place he went he received the most enthusiastic welcome probably ever accorded a visitor from another land.

And I think his trip laid to rest the canard that what the United States is doing in Viet-Nam is not understood and supported in that part of the world. Those closest to the danger know that South Viet-Nam is the target of an aggression -- and that that aggression must be repelled if there is to be a reasonable prospect of peace in East Asia and the Western Pacific. Increasingly those who understand the danger are willing to help in dealing with it. For various reasons, a few leaders are not so frank in public. But generally in that area it is realized that our firm stand in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia is giving the nations of the region time to build and organize their strength, resources and development. I doubt that there is a non-Communist government in that part of the world that would not be deeply alarmed if it thought we and our allies would falter in our resolve to secure to the people of South

Viet-Nam

Viet-Nam the right to make their own future under leaders and institutions of their own choice.

Another salient reality about East Asia and the Western Pacific is the economic and social progress of most of the non-Communist countries. Some of them face difficult problems. But nearly all are making genuine advances and look to the future with high confidence.

You note that I don't speak of the "Far East." Several years ago I began to try to get away from that designation. And recently in the State Department we finally managed the bureaucratic feat of changing the name of our Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs to Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Whatever we call it, the area we are talking about is to our West -- and it is manifesting the kind of vitality and self-confidence and sense of boundless opportunity that Americans have traditionally associated with the "West" or the "Far West" or the "Great West."

This great area across the Pacific is immense by any measurement -- area, population, natural resources, or what you will. Wellington is as far from Saigon as Vienna is, and as far from Seoul as Moscow is from Washington. Canberra is as far from Bangkok as Washington is from London. The population, outside Mainland China, is roughly 350 million. And it contains peoples of rich cultures and high talents.

Wherever you go among the non-Communist nations of the Pacific, you find hope and confidence. And in most you find impressive forward movement.

New Zealand has achieved a new high in per capita income. Australia is forging ahead. Its potential is vast -- and will be even greater as it solves its water problem. Thailand has made very substantial economic progress. So has Malaysia. The Republic of the Philippines has

has new, dynamic leadership. The Republic of China on Taiwan has become a showplace of the Western Pacific, and is providing technical assistance to approximately 25 countries.

Indonesia has pulled back from the abyss and is putting its affairs in order. It has the resources to become one of the prosperous nations of the world.

The Republic of Korea is making remarkable economic progress, both industrially and in agricultural production. At the same time, it continues to be a major contributor to the security of Free Asia. Its troops stand shoulder-to-shoulder with ours not only on the northern rampart of freedom, but on the southern front. In ratio to population, its contribution of troops to the defense of South Viet-Nam is comparable to ours.

Japan's spectacular economic development is widely known, although it may not be so generally realized that, at present rates of growth, Japan will soon be third in rank among the industrial nations of the world. It is particularly gratifying that Japan's rise to unprecedented heights of productivity and per capita income has been achieved by peaceful means under democratic institutions. We are proud to have this highly talented and industrious nation as a major partner in the Free World.

The economic progress of the free nations of the Western Pacific, including the Republic of China on Taiwan, stands in sharp contrast to Mainland China -- where there has been no increase in per capita income in the last ten years.

Another momentous development is that the free nations of East Asia and the Western Pacific have begun to work together. Regional and subregional cooperation is proliferating on an impressive scale and holds great promise for the future.

ECAFE,

ECAFE, a branch of the United Nations, with a strong executive secretary and a professional staff, has been the sponsor of a broad range of cooperative activities and organizations.

The new Asian Development Bank will hold its inaugural meeting this month. It should become an important instrument of economic development, not only through the funds it makes available but, even more, through leadership in sound planning.

ASPAC -- the Asian-Pacific Council of ten nations formed in Seoul last spring -- is not only a political forum but has under way working group studies of various projects for cooperation in economic, social, and cultural fields.

The Association of Southeast Asia has been reactivated by its founders -- Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Its membership is open to others, and from it may evolve a larger grouping.

The Colombo Plan, a broad, informal association, continues to provide a forum for joint examination of country development plans, problems, and policies.

In addition to those and other regional organizations, there have been some important ad hoc meetings, such as: the Ministerial Conference on Southeast Asian Development held this spring at the initiative of Japan ..... the Asian Agricultural Development Conference, also Japanese-initiated, scheduled to meet next month ..... periodic meetings of the Southeast Asian Education Ministers.

Most

Most of these organizations and meetings are the result of initiatives by the free nations of the area. In most, the United States has not even participated.

The United States has made vital contributions to the independence and to the economic and social advance of the free nations of East Asia and the Western Pacific.

One has been to help to provide a shield of security. This has been, and still is, indispensable. Our response when the Republic of Korea was invaded....the powerful, mobile, military forces we have maintained in the Pacific....our assistance to free nations in the area in building their military defenses and economic strength....the defensive alliances through which we gave warning to would-be aggressors and reassured their potential victims....these measures were indispensable in creating the secure environment that has enabled the free nations of the area to survive and advance.

Another vital contribution was a peace of genuine reconciliation with Japan.

A third has been our aid in economic and social development: capital, technical assistance in many fields, and, more broadly and fundamentally, aid in education.

In the epochal task of assisting the developing countries in that area--as in other areas--the American institutions of learning represented here tonight have played an enormous role.

I think first of the missionary teachers and doctors. I think of the special undertakings of various American universities in association with local universities: in training teachers and administrators, in developing professional schools, in transferring the techniques of a wide range of professional and vocational skills. (Twenty-nine American colleges and universities have had AID contracts in East Asia.) I think of the exchanges of professors, of the thousands of young Asians who

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have received part of their advanced education in the United States.... of thousands of others who have come here for shorter periods of special training....of the experts in agriculture and other practical skills we have sent to those countries....of the volunteers of the Peace Corps, of whom approximately half in that part of the world are engaged in educational activities....of our U.S.I.S. libraries....of the educational materials, including millions of text books, we have provided....of the continuing work of the East-West Center in Hawaii.

Of course, we have not been alone in this effort. Great Britain, Australia, France, and many nations, including Japan, have contributed on a significant scale. The Republic of the Philippines is an increasingly important regional center for education and training. Thailand has made many contributions to regional educational programs, including support for SEATO educational and scientific programs and the new Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok. Taiwan is exporting expert assistance, especially in agriculture.

While the President was in the Philippines on this trip, he visited an institution in which I have been interested since it was set up in 1960 by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in cooperation with the Government of the Philippines....the International Rice Research Institute at Los Banos. Rice is the most important single food crop in the world; and the people of Asia eat more than nine-tenths of all the rice grown. But much of the research done on rice in Japan and the United States is not directly applicable to South and Southeast Asia.

The professional staff of the Institute at Los Banos includes scientists of seven nationalities. And many young scientists from Asia go there for training; the Institute had 64 research scholars during 1965.

In six years IRRI has laid the scientific basis for revolutionary improvements in rice production in South and Southeast Asia and other

tropical

tropical rice-growing countries. One variety it has developed produces at least twice the yield the best farmers now obtain with the varieties available to them in such countries as India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

This one development won't solve the food-population problem, which is moving rapidly toward a stage of crisis for the human race. But it should help to relieve what Mahatma Gandhi once called "the eternal compulsory fast" of his and other people.

A recent study at Brookings sustains the not surprising presumption that economic growth is related to ratios of educational enrollment to total population. It indicated that gross national product per capita begins sustained growth when primary enrollments reach 8 to 10 percent of the total population--that subsequent economic growth seems to be associated with the expansion of secondary enrollment beyond two percent of the population; then, finally, with the growth of university level enrollments.

Some such relationship between educational and economic growth appears in the East Asia and Pacific area. Japan passed the 10 percent mark in primary enrollments before 1900, the two percent enrollment in secondary schools during the first world war; and its enrollment at the university level in ratio to total population is now the third highest in the world. Australia and New Zealand have educational records not unlike Japan's; and they rank among the world's leaders in per capita GNP.

Taiwan and the Republic of Korea have high rates of literacy and increasing enrollments in secondary schools and universities. And the expansion of education in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong has followed, or been accompanied, by the economic growth that has been the hallmark of the last ten years. And despite war and terror--including the assassination of school teachers by the Viet Cong --

South Viet-Nam

South Viet-Nam has achieved the ratios of enrollment associated elsewhere with the beginning of sustained economic growth.

I would not wish to press this parallel too far--much depends upon the nature and quality of the education, especially at the secondary levels and higher. As we are all aware, some countries have more university graduates than can find useful employment....while they are still short of men and women with essential professional and vocational skills.

In any event, in most of the free nations of East Asia and the Western Pacific the educational foundations have been laid for sustained economic, social, and political development.

A few words about the recent Manila Conference. As you know, the participants were the chiefs of state or heads of government of the seven nations which are making military contributions to the defense of South Viet-Nam. It was the result of Asian initiatives. And President Johnson listened carefully to his associates from the six other countries.

Anyone who thinks that these countries are "clients" of the United States--that they would take orders from us, or anybody else--is a victim of fantasy. These are proud, self-reliant peoples led by men who do not hesitate to assert their minds.

The Manila Conference was not essentially a conference on military strategy. It was about South Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia, yes, but also about the future of East Asia and the Western Pacific as a whole. It revealed agreement on a wide range of matters. All were set forth in the published statements--there were no secret agreements or understandings.

The seven participants summed up their fundamental common purposes in four Goals of Freedom:

1. To be

1. To be free from aggression.

2. To conquer hunger, illiteracy, and disease.

3. To build a region of security, order, and progress.

4. To seek reconciliation and peace throughout Asia and the Pacific.

I have already discussed the second and third points.

As to the first, freedom from aggression, I would make just a few comments. The elimination of aggression is the first essential in organizing a stable peace. It is, in essence, the first obligation of every member of the United Nations--under the Charter which we and others of like mind wrote while the flames of the Second World War were still raging ....while we were thinking hard about how that catastrophe came about and how "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

The prevention of aggression is the paramount purpose of the defensive alliances we have entered into with more than 40 other nations. It is the first purpose of our own powerful and varied military establishment.

I think it is generally--if not universally--realized that a thermonuclear aggression would not be a rational act. I think it is generally --if not universally--realized that open aggression by large-scale movement of conventional forces across frontiers involves prohibitive risks for the aggressor.

But indirect aggression, by infiltration of men and arms across frontiers, is still with us. It was tried in Greece, in Malaya, and the Philippines, and now in South Viet-Nam. The label "civil war" or "war of national liberation" does not make it any less an aggression. The

purpose

purpose is to impose on others an unwanted regime. It substitutes terror for persuasion, force for free choice. And especially if it succeeds, it contains the inherent threat of further aggression -- and eventually a great war.

Those who speak of the struggle in South Viet-Nam as essentially a civil war are ignoring overwhelming evidence. There was no serious threat until 1959-60, when North Viet-Nam set in motion a systematic effort to seize control of South Viet-Nam by force.

Of course, there is an indigenous element but the fact that the invaders from the North are Vietnamese does not make this just an internal affair. The aggression against the Republic of Korea was launched by North Koreans. Would Moscow, or anyone else, treat it as a purely internal affair if the Federal Republic of Germany were to send thousands of armed men, including some 20 full regiments of its regular army, into East Germany?

The militant Asian Communists have themselves proclaimed the attack on South Viet-Nam to be a critical test of this technique. And, beyond South Viet-Nam and Laos, they have openly designated Thailand as the next target.

Today, as thirty years ago, there are people who do not read, or tell us to ignore, the openly proclaimed expansionist designs of ambitious men. But experience warns us that this would be imprudent. It is quite true that those who would like to impose their will on others sometimes lack the means to do so. That is so today where the power of the United States stands as a barrier.

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Of course, there are differences between Hitler and other aggressors of a generation ago and those which have disturbed or threatened the peace in more recent years. But those who dwell on the differences often becloud the heart of the matter, which is aggression.

Now, as a generation ago, some people are saying that if you let an aggressor take just one more bite he will be satisfied. But one of the plainest lessons of our times is that one aggression leads to another -- by the initial aggressor and perhaps by others who decide there would be profit in emulating him.

Some assert that we have no national security interest in South Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia. But that is not the judgment of those who have borne the high responsibilities for the safety of the United States. Beginning with President Truman, four successive Presidents, after extended consultation with their principal advisers, have decided that we have a very important interest in the security of that area.

There is a further and more specific reason why we are assisting South Viet-Nam: out of the strategic conclusions of four successive Presidents came commitments, including the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. The Senate approved it with only one negative vote.

Our commitments are the backbone of world peace. It is essential that neither our adversaries nor our friends ever doubt that we will do what we say we will do. Otherwise, the result is very likely to be a great catastrophe.

In his last public utterance President Kennedy reviewed what the United States had done to preserve freedom and peace since the Second World War, and our defensive commitments, including our support of South Viet-Nam. He said: "We are still the keystone in the arch of freedom, and I think we will continue to do as we have done in the past, our duty ....."

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The resolve of President Johnson and a great majority of the American people is, I believe, clear. And it is the resolve of the other governments which are contributing military forces to the defense of South Viet-Nam. This aggression will be repelled.

At the same time, we and our allies have persistently sought peace. Never in the history of warfare has there been greater effort, by one side, to move armed conflict to the conference table.

What are the Communists prepared to do if we should suspend bombing of the North? So far they have not indicated that they are willing to reciprocate in any way.

Eventually the aggressor must realize that he has nothing to gain from continuing this war. We and our allies have made it plain that we are not trying to change the government of North Viet-Nam -- and that a North Viet-Nam that does not use force against its neighbors would be welcomed as a partner in economic development.

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